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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE LEBANON

PART 7

January to December 1953

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING

THE LEBANON—PART 7

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

EL 1016/3

No. 1

AFFAIRS IN THE LEBANON

Mr. Barnes to Mr. Eden. (Received 5th February)

(No. 10. Confidential) *Beirut,*
Sir, *29th January, 1953.*

It is now four months since M. Camille Chamoun was elected President of the Lebanese Republic and rather less than that time since his first Government was accorded by the Chamber of Deputies full powers to legislate by decree for six months. It has now become possible to form some estimate of the achievements of the new régime and of its strength and its weaknesses in the country.

2. On the credit side there stands first and foremost the new Electoral Law. The corrupt influence of the Deputies, of whom the majority were feudal chieftains, had to be broken before any improvement in the country's affairs generally could be achieved. The Government have also issued a code for the Civil Service which gives officials security of tenure on the conditions laid down, and regulates pay and pension rights. Sweeping reforms have been carried out in the personnel of the Judiciary and a number of Government servants and upwards of 500 municipal employees have been dismissed as redundant. Some senior Civil Servants whose reputation was not particularly savoury have also been dismissed. The prosecution, for alleged complicity in the murder of a political opponent at the municipal elections, of a Moslem Deputy, who is also a feudal leader in a small way, is also a sign of the times. There seems to be a general feeling that the standards of public administration have been raised, and that laws (for example, against gambling and on building restrictions) are being more rigidly applied. Other innovations, such as the appointment of women municipal councillors, are evidence of the liberal intentions of the new régime.

3. On the other hand, despite the Electoral Reform Law, the old Chamber still remains. Much of its influence has gone

with the granting of full powers to the Government and up to a point the Deputies, who have no love for the new régime, are docile since they know that the President can dissolve Parliament and call for elections under the new law (by which thirty-three seats are at once abolished) whenever he wishes. At the same time they are watchful for opportunities to score points off the Government when they think they can do so with impunity, as when they recently refused to vote credits for which the Government had asked. The Government itself is weak since it is composed of only four officials with no parliamentary following, of whom the Prime Minister is a colourless individual anxious only to return to diplomatic life, the Minister for Foreign Affairs is in constant contact with the former President, the Minister of Finance is pursuing an economic policy of which none of his colleagues wholeheartedly approves, and the fourth member is an amiable poet put there to preserve the balance of two Moslems and two Christians. This quadrumvirate is too small and too feeble to cover the whole field of public affairs effectively and detailed responsibility is therefore inevitably thrown back on the President of the Republic himself. The President, although he is accessible to a great many people, seems to have very few wise counsellors to whom he listens and whom he trusts. He seems too inclined to listen to personal friends who have neither the experience nor the political ballast to advise him soundly. He has, probably deliberately, refrained from systematically consulting, as did his predecessor, the feudal leaders of the various districts and they have, not unnaturally, taken offence. In particular he has incurred the hostility of leading Moslems, some of whom have spoken strongly on the subject to my staff and myself, for neglecting their interests in the new appointments which have been made.

There is also criticism from the other side of the fact that not enough has been done to neutralise the most powerful exponents of corruption under the old régime and that the administrative purges have only affected smaller fry. It is notable, for example, that the long-expected law on the acquisition of illicit wealth has not been promulgated although the President has had a draft before him for a long time. The new Press Law is also a sign of weakness in the face of the vested interests of the Press Syndicate.

4. In foreign affairs the new régime has, as Mr. Chapman-Andrews forecast in his despatch No. 198 of 24th September, 1952, given evidence of its desire to stand well with its Arab neighbours, even to the extent of displaying over-anxiety for better treatment from Syria in the economic relations of the two countries (and thus weakening its bargaining position *vis-à-vis* Syria). The cold wind of hostility to Britain over the United Nations resolution on Palestine was tempered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs who looks mainly westward. But while the President of the Republic has professed his desire for closer military connexions with Britain he seems to be mainly interested in what he can gain from such connexions, and he has not proved very helpful over the ratification of the I.P.C. Agreement. His attitude may to some extent stem from a desire not to appear under British influence, but I think that it is also based on Arab convictions.

5. It is true that in domestic affairs the President of the Republic has been faced with a difficult choice. He came to power as one of a handful of members of the former Opposition on a wave of popular clamour for new men and new methods. His own inclinations lie, I am sure, towards honest administration and progressive social and economic reforms. But as was seen in the municipal elections in December, he cannot with a single gesture brush aside ingrained traditions of feudalism and professionalism by which this country has so long been governed. As a result he seems to have fallen between two stools: he has disappointed those who expected a programme of rapid reform, among them particularly the younger Moslems, while he had done little or nothing to satisfy or conciliate the remaining representatives of the old régime. In particular he has failed to grasp the nettle of the Chamber of Deputies. He missed the

opportunity of dissolving it immediately after publication of the new Electoral Law and has now run into the weak position where he is reluctant to dissolve the Chamber until it has passed the budget.

6. It seems therefore that the President really has to decide fairly soon to appoint a stronger Government which will not only take some of the weight off his own shoulders but which under his direction will give leadership to the country. In composing a new Government he has to choose whether to adhere to the old method of ensuring support by including representatives of the various districts and religious communities, or to build up a Left-centre group of the younger and more progressive politicians, lawyers and journalists through whom he could consolidate popular support and so afford to by-pass the feudal leaders. I am sure that his background and personal inclinations point to the second alternative, and indeed it is the only possibility if he is to carry through the coherent programme of reforms which was generally expected of him at his election. In this connexion it is perhaps significant that M. Abdullah Yafi, who is the only Moslem leader with whom the President regularly consults and who is generally regarded as the next Prime Minister, has recently been taking soundings for the formation of a new political party. Any political party which can seriously present itself and its programme to the electors throughout the country would be an innovation in the Lebanon, and M. Yafi has defined his programme as one of "democratic socialism." He also told me himself that he hoped that the party would include representatives of the workers' interests in the shape of certain trade union leaders. It may be that in taking this initiative M. Yafi is working with the President's encouragement or at least has reason to believe that the new move would not be displeasing to M. Chamoun. On the other hand the signs are that so far the party is attracting those who want to climb on to the band wagon of the next Prime Minister rather than convinced exponents of "democratic socialism."

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Damascus and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

E. J. W. BARNES.

LEBANON: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1952

Mr. Barnes to Mr. Eden. (Received 5th March)

(No. 27. Confidential) *Beirut,*
Sir, *25th February, 1953.*

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the Lebanon for 1952.

I have, &c.

E. J. W. BARNES.

Enclosure in No. 2

Annual Report on the Lebanon for 1952.

1952 was a year of revolutions in the Arab world, and the Lebanon was no exception. The personal and political ascendancy of Sheikh Bechara el-Khoury, skilfully built up over more than eight years, suddenly collapsed and a new régime came into power pledged to do away with corruption and to reform the social structure. Nevertheless, by the end of the year many observers were tempted to murmur "Plus ça change. . ."

2. When the year began the Government of Abdullah Yafi was still limping along, but it was very much a lame duck. Both President of the Republic and Prime Minister were ready for a change and, when he had achieved the passage of his budget and the conclusion of an agreement intended to put economic relations with Syria on a healthier basis, M. Yafi resigned in February. For his successor the President of the Republic first turned to Sa'eb Salaam, but when this move proved unpopular he selected Sami Solh, who formed a Government composed mainly of the old familiar faces with a sprinkling of new men, mostly feudal leaders or successful businessmen who had entered Parliament in 1951.

3. It was soon clear that this Government had no programme except to carry on in the same old way, and during March and April popular discontent began to be seen in a number of strikes involving railway, road transport and telephone workers. To add a bizarre note the barristers were also on strike in order to press their claim for more work for the secular as opposed to the ecclesiastical courts. Criticism not only of the Government but of the régime mounted as, despite the general talk of reform, nothing was achieved. This criticism fastened in

particular on the impossibility of obtaining justice in the courts, on the power of the handful of feudal leaders who pursued their personal quarrels to the disregard of the public welfare, and on the mounting unemployment figures. The Left-wing Opposition also found that the affairs of the concessionary companies were a useful stick with which to beat the Government, and they successfully promoted a boycott of the electricity company by its consumers. Tension was increased by a number of personal assaults made by the henchmen of powerful politicians on journalists who had dared to criticise their masters. By the end of May, therefore, almost the entire press was in full cry against the régime which it accused of treating the Lebanon as a family farm to be mulcted by a few men, comprising almost exclusively the President of the Republic and his immediate family and entourage.

4. The President showed a strangely misplaced confidence and lack of understanding of the real causes of criticism. In an effort to deflect the criticism from himself, he threw out hints of the need for a new Government and he toyed with the idea of forming a majority party which would give him the appearance of solid backing at least in the Chamber of Deputies. In June (as a gesture intended partly to show that he was not entirely under the influence of his powerful brother Sheikh Selim el-Khoury) he appointed new heads of the internal security forces, the police and the gendarmerie. But at the same time he took the unwise step of prosecuting for outspoken criticism of himself the newspaper of the most vociferous Opposition leader on the Left wing, Kamal Joumlatt, and he went so far as to suspend other papers which reproduced Joumlatt's article. This blow at freedom of speech was savagely resented and from now on it was war to the death between the President and most of the press.

5. Events in Egypt at the end of July gave a fillip to the Opposition movement, and many were found anxious to apply the drastic lesson of King Farouk's abdication and to advocate cutting off the Head of the State to heal the body politic. Parliament was now in recess, but there were many demands for a special session at which

reform measures could be discussed. The turning point came when the Opposition showed its strength at a mass meeting addressed by a wide range of political leaders at Deir el-Kamar on 17th August. Almost all the speakers agreed that progress could only be made with the removal from office of the President of the Republic.

6. The President himself saw the red light, and on 20th August published his own 21-point programme, largely filched from the Opposition, of administrative and economic reforms. He agreed to hold the extraordinary session on 9th September, but made it known that he was still hoping to use the Prime Minister as a scapegoat to carry the criticism aimed at himself. Sami Solh naturally resented the rôle for which he was cast, but rather than fight the battle he preferred, after a vigorous declaration of independence, to throw in his hand at the opening meeting of the special session.

7. This dramatic gesture precipitated a series of events which fast gathered momentum and soon moved at breathless speed. The President realised that the régime must be given a "new look," and to give himself time to find new faces first appointed a three-man Government of officials. As soon as it became clear that the change of front was more apparent than real, and that, despite a last-minute effort to purge the civil service of its most corrupt elements, the new Government—to be headed by Sa'eb Salaam—would be based on the old formula of balanced legal and confessional representation with a few extra titbits, the Opposition decided to try stronger tactics. They declared a general strike of the shops for 15th September. The strike was prolonged for a second and then a third day, on which first the ten Opposition Deputies and then a larger *bloc* of Sunni Moslems, who were angered by the President's treatment of successive Prime Ministers of their own faith, presented petitions calling for the President's resignation.

8. The scene then changed to the President's summer residence in the mountains throughout the night of 17th September, while the long knives of the Opposition glistened in the wings. The President twisted and turned around the stage to find ways of extricating himself from his predicament, but with his chosen Prime Minister, Sa'eb Salaam, turned against him and no one else willing to fill the rôle, he finally accepted the inevitable and after appointing General Chehab, the Commander-in-Chief, as Prime Minister, he signed his act of resig-

nation at 2.30 a.m. on 18th September. The Commander-in-Chief had already informed him that only if this action was taken could he guarantee to maintain public order. Thus ended the public career of a man who, whatever his public and private defects of moral character, had remained for some years incontestably the most skilful and successful politician in the country, and who had proved himself a wise friend of the Western world in external affairs.

9. As is the way, the limelight at once switched from the fallen hero and focused on the election of his successor. Now, needless to say, all were of the Opposition. After running neck and neck for a few days with Hamid Frangie, whom the French connexion supported, Camille Chamoun was on 23rd September elected President of the Republic by the virtually unanimous decision of the Chamber of Deputies. A former Minister in London, a lawyer of some distinction, a man of attractive presence, and the most consistent spokesman of the Opposition over the past few years, and into the bargain universally acknowledged to be an honest man, he came to the purple with a deep fund of goodwill on which to draw.

10. Yet his efforts to form a parliamentary Government of national union failed. It was too uncomfortable for the old lion and the new lamb to lie down together so soon after the fight, and eventually the President was forced to form a Government of four officials, who were on 9th October voted full powers for six months by the Chamber of Deputies. At first the Government profited by some popular criticism of Kamal Joublatt and his friends who had not been willing to form a united front with those less to the left than themselves, but soon criticism tended to fasten on the inaction of the Government itself, from the Left because it was moving too slowly towards the promised reforms, and from the Right because the confessional and local chieftains were not being consulted as of old.

11. By the end of the year the Government could show to its credit a reform of the Electoral Law, a new Press Law, municipal elections conducted, not without some bloodshed, on a new basis, a revamping of the judiciary, and numerous dismissals in the civil service. These changes were mainly changes in personalities and, despite a general feeling that administration was growing more honest, there was no clear direction of economic and social reform to be seen. Any consistent progress in this direction was probably impossible while the

existing Chamber lasted. Meanwhile, however, the Chamber was docile with the axe of reform poised over its head, and the President gave no sign when or how he would let the axe fall.

12. In fact with a Government of only four members lacking a common or consistent political purpose, the President inevitably found himself too immersed in the details thrown back upon him to be able to form a clear-cut policy. His limited experience of administration and his anxiety to be all things to all men inevitably showed up in such circumstances. Indeed, if there was any mainspring for his conduct it seemed to be the desire either to do the exact opposite of his predecessor, or to show that anything that Bechara el-Khoury had done he could do better. He allowed this attitude to extend even to military matters and to the question of the oil revenues.

13. In foreign affairs, both before and after the change of régime, the Lebanon remained predominantly Western in sympathy without showing the courage of her convictions or the strength to draw the necessary conclusions for her present conduct. The continuing British negotiations with Egypt and the absence of any settlement over Palestine were continually advanced as useful pretexts for failure to make any progress towards a Middle East Defence Organisation. None the less visits by Admiral Mountbatten in August and General Robertson in November were welcomed, and as the work of the Royal Air Force mission went on the Lebanese Government were screwing up their courage by the end of the year to buy three of the jet aircraft offered to them by Great Britain. A British Civil Defence Adviser was also appointed during the year.

14. In the autumn the Lebanon was elected to the Security Council of the United Nations and at the General Assembly took pride in having twice demonstrated her independence, under the sheltering wing of Iraq, by voting differently from the Arab States on comparatively unexciting issues. But in general she showed no more realism than her Arab neighbours and followed their lead on all the major foreign policy questions affecting the Arabs, such as the United Nations discussion on Palestine, the Franco-Tunisian problem, and the German-Israel Reparations Agreement.

15. If any change in foreign policy can be detected as a result of the change in régime it is that President Chamoun (despite his unescapable reputation as a "British agent,"

to which he is elaborately careful not to give any credence) is more *arabisant* than his predecessor. This attitude emerged not only in the declarations of his inaugural address, but in the visits exchanged with other Arab Governments after his election, in the inordinate haste to walk into the Syrian parlour by way of economic negotiations, and even in his unhelpful attitude to the ratification of the I.P.C. Agreement.

16. At any rate Lebanese Governments, new and old alike, had few illusions about communism and the Communist Party remained proscribed. Although unemployment is high (50,000 in a population of 1½ million) and although conditions, particularly in the towns, offer favourable opportunities to Communist propaganda, the Communist Party seems to be still small and ill-organised, and to take little advantage of its opportunities. Evidence accumulated, however, of a significant effort by the Soviet satellites to develop their trade in the Levant, leading, among other things, to a Lebano-Czech commercial agreement.

17. In economic affairs the boom in Lebanese prosperity received a fresh impetus after the anti-British riots in Cairo on 26th January. Many institutions moved their regional offices from Cairo to Beirut, although some went back later in the year. Airlines, too, diverted traffic to Beirut, and the growing importance of the Beirut international airport was only one example of the increasing tendency of the city to become a commercial and communications centre for the Arab world.

18. 1952 also saw a long-drawn-out dispute between the Lebanese Government and the dispensers of United States Point IV aid. Lebanese impatience with the wish of the Americans to control their own expenditure reached such a point that by the end of the year the United States Government were threatening to withdraw all Point IV assistance from the country. The position was not made easier by the free-lance activities of Mr. Locke, United States representative on U.N.R.W.A. and regional controller of Point IV, who preached in and out of season the need for the United States to give not only technical but economic aid on a vast scale to the refugees and the Arab States as a whole.

19. One aspect of the Point IV programme was the survey of the possibilities of the Litani River which tended to draw attention to possible hydro-electric development throughout the country as a whole, although it was far from clear where the

finance would be found for the vast projects which were being canvassed. Moreover, there is a strong faction in the Lebanon which believes that the business of the Lebanon is business, and strongly resists the idea of wasting time on economic development since it can never contribute as much as commerce to the national prosperity. Commerce, moreover, offers a quicker return on capital invested.

20. Economic negotiations with Syria were inspired by this feeling that the Lebanon should live by transit trade and must have access to all available markets. There was much disappointment that the February agreement did not in the event allow Lebanese merchants and agents to re-establish their effective control of the Syrian market. This movement to improve economic relations with Syria, despite the unforthcoming attitude of that country, was led by the able young Minister of Finance under the new régime, M. Georges Hakim, whose demands for increased payments by the oil companies were also dictated by anxiety to stand well with Syria as well as by a desire to keep the golden goose on the job.

21. However, despite the talk of economic union with Syria, the Lebanese purpose would in fact be served by securing free customs relations. Further pressure in this direction came from the inhabitants of Tripoli who had long felt themselves neglected by the authorities at Beirut and who now found that the closure of the Syrian frontier deprived them of the natural hinterland of their port, while the Syrian move to develop Lattakia threatened to put the port itself out of business. A certain Tripolitanian separatism was the natural result.

22. In general the Lebanon continued to give the impression of a municipality rather than a nation, and a municipality so parochial that the affairs of the world outside its own boundaries seemed to it petty by comparison to events in the Lebanon itself, but which was, none the less, protected from making too many mistakes in its international relations by an instinctive consciousness of its own unimportance, and by that commercial canniness which has stood the inhabitants of its shores in good stead since the days of the Phœnicians.

in my despatch No. 42 was a symptom of the general political malaise and of the inability of the politicians to employ themselves to more productive purpose. The President of the Republic's excursions into foreign affairs and to other Arab capitals were not universally approved and whatever view was taken of his foreign policy, he was criticised for devoting too much time to these activities at the expense of what the politicians regarded as his primary job of governing the country. Since the resignation of M. Moussa Mobarak at the beginning of February the Cabinet has consisted of only three members, and as the President took with him on each journey a Minister in attendance, the country was supposedly governed during his absence by a not very impressive duumvirate. This state of affairs was generally regarded as unsatisfactory and openly criticised in the press, and still more so by the Deputies who felt the axe of electoral reform hanging over their heads while they had no power to control the direction of its swing.

3. The last straw was laid upon the pile when on the 14th April, on the very eve of the expiry of their full powers, the Government issued by decree instructions for an extensive reorganisation of many branches of the Civil Service, in which promotions and dismissals were mixed together in a pattern which seemed to have no rhyme or reason, but personal influence and favour. The trouble was that the personal influence and favour involved were not those of the members of the Chamber of Deputies who thereupon resolved that the Government must fall. As I reported in my letter of the 22nd April to Mr. Ross, no less a person than the Vice-President of the Chamber put down a motion of no confidence in the Government taking this latest decree on the reorganisation of the Civil Service as his text; the debate which followed saw that the Government had no friends in any quarter of the Chamber, and indeed the debate closed by all the Deputies present walking out leaving only the President of the Chamber and the two remaining Ministers sitting ineffectively in their places.

4. These proceedings in effect reduced the Government of the Emir Khaled Chehab to a farce, and it was clear that a change must follow the return of the President of the Republic from Cairo on 27th April. After an uneventful sitting of Parliament on 28th April, the Emir accordingly resigned. His resignation was accompanied by a

fulsome exchange of letters between himself and the President of the Republic in which the President of the Republic praised the Government's achievements in terms with which it appears very few other Lebanese would be prepared to agree. In particular, the President referred to the decrees passed during the Government's tenure of office as the cornerstone of the State, he commended the work for economic agreements with other Arab States and he praised the measures the Government had taken in respect of "certain foreign concessionary companies." The President has assured me that this reference was to the Electricity Company but, as the plural was used, I am afraid it will be universally understood as covering the Iraq Petroleum Company as well.

5. The choice for a new Prime Minister was generally regarded as lying between M. Saeb Salam and M. Abdullah Yafi, both Sunni Moslem Deputies of Beirut. It was also realised that stability was only likely to be restored if the Government was mainly drawn from the ranks of the Chamber and if it commanded the approval of a majority of the Deputies. The President, therefore, on the evening of 28th April started the traditional round of consultations with representatives of the various parliamentary groups and early on 29th April, M. Saeb Salam, having apparently wider support than M. Yafi, was charged with the task of forming a Government. By the morning of 30th April it became known that he had prepared a list which, besides M. Georges Hakim, M. Pierre Eddé, M. Rashid Beydoun, M. Bechir Awar and M. Muhieddin Nsouli, also contained the names of M. Hamid Frangié and M. Philippe Takla. M. Frangié was expected to receive the portfolio of Foreign Affairs.

6. But the proposed list rapidly ran into heavy weather. Among the Deputies it was criticised because it contained no representative of Tripoli, of the Bekaa, or of South Lebanon, and that there was no member of the new so-called *Bloc Démocratique*. This group, which has developed only during the past two or three months, has no great significance, but is interesting in that it is the first sign of an embryo political party; it was formed from among former supporters of President Bechara el-Khoury and contains representatives of all areas and of all religions. Moreover the so-called *Bloc National*, which is little more than the personal faction of

EL 1016/16

No. 3

REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEBANESE POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Barnes to Sir Winston Churchill. (Received 11th May)

(No. 76. Confidential)
Sir,

*Beirut,
5th May, 1953.*

Since my despatch No. 10 of the 29th January I have not attempted to send you a comprehensive report on the development of the Lebanese political situation, not only because it has little importance outside the borders of the country, but also because for many weeks everyone has been waiting for something to happen and very little has in fact happened.

2. The date on which all eyes were fixed was the 15th April, when the full powers voted last October to the Government of the Emir Khaled Chehab were due to expire. Meanwhile criticism of the Government had continued to grow for a number of reasons. Many people, and particularly the Deputies, thought that the normal institutions of political life were suspended without any compensating advantages—that is to say, that the Deputies and their associates had

entrusted their powers to a Government of officials and had thereby cut themselves off from the perquisites of office and the plums of patronage. But after the decrees they had issued early in their term—notably on electoral reform, the control of the press and the reorganisation of the Judiciary—the Government had few constructive achievements to their credit. The economic negotiations with Syria had to all intents and purposes misfired. The brave show of energy put up against the Electricity Company of Beirut had had few visible consequences and it was rumoured that the Government-appointed administrators of the company were at a loss as to their next move. The Government had not presented a budget to the Chamber and there was every indication that if they did so the Chamber would do its best to delay its passage. The outbreak of ill-feeling between Moslems and Christians reported

the Eddé family, refused to accept the presence of M. Philippe Takla, who is regarded as much too closely associated with the former President, unless he at least publicly severed his connexions with his former associates and entered the Government in his personal capacity only. Under these circumstances, M. Hamid Frangié also decided to withdraw and although the veto on M. Takla was later withdrawn, the latter has told me that he naturally would not agree to come in on sufferance in this way.

7. The whole of 30th April was thus devoted to further consultations and the list reported in my telegram No. 177 was announced in the morning papers of 1st May. The new list has met some of the criticisms of its predecessor in that M. Takla is excluded and M. Skaf, who is also a Greek Catholic, represents the Bekaa, but although M. Awar was previously a member of the *Bloc Démocratique*, that group is said to have expelled him for accepting a Cabinet post, so they are still unrepresented. As M. Beydoun, the only Shia member, comes from Beirut, the Shia stronghold of South Lebanon is still unsatisfied and although M. Georges Hakim comes of a Tripoli family, he can hardly be said to represent that city in the normal parliamentary sense. I understand that Saeb Salam has personally satisfied the leading Tripoli Moslems, with whom he has family connexions, of his concern for their interests. The list contains two Sunni Moslems, two Maronites, one Greek Catholic, one Greek Orthodox, one Shia Moslem and one Druze.

8. Compared to its predecessor, this second list has unmistakably the look of a second eleven. Not only are there some twenty-five to thirty Deputies who are likely to refuse it support because their interests have been ignored, and who can therefore make the life of the Government difficult; but it is also criticised because it is constructed on the old formula and is virtually a return to the methods employed by the old régime. In fact those who were originally the most fervent supporters of President Chamoun are now criticising him

for having allowed a situation to develop whereby in ignoring the Chamber of Deputies he has in effect resurrected it from the dead when he could equally well have administered the *coup de grâce* by dissolving it. The President himself has told me that he will be glad to have a parliamentary government which will relieve him of some of the burdens of administration. This certainly shows that he is aware of the criticisms which have been advanced, but it remains to be seen how far he is prepared to divest himself of actual power.

9. The other main point of criticism has been that M. Georges Hakim holds simultaneously the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and National Economy. Although there is some connexion between the two portfolios with regard to economic negotiations with Syria, many people feel that the Minister for Foreign Affairs should have no other duties. It is strongly rumoured that while leaving M. Saeb Salam a free hand for other appointments the President of the Republic himself insisted that M. Hakim should be included, though not necessarily at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The fact that all the activities of the late Government, commended by the President in his letter to the outgoing Prime Minister, have some connexion with M. Hakim, lends credence to this view. In fact, the conjunction of M. Saeb Salam, who has close business connexions with the Americans, and M. Georges Hakim, who has served at Washington, will no doubt be useful when the Lebanese are expecting so much of the Americans in general and of Mr. Dulles in particular, and it may well be more than a coincidence. In any case it is to be hoped that M. Salam's robust sense of the practical will be available to temper M. Hakim's theoretical approach to foreign and economic policy.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Damascus and the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

E. J. W. BARNES.

COMMENTS ON THE CONSTANTLY CHANGING POLITICAL GROUPINGS

Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Lord Salisbury. (Received July 4)

(No. 111. Confidential)

Beirut,

My Lord,

June 30, 1953.

The Lebanese political kaleidoscope is subject to many rapid convolutions and disturbances but at present it offers to the eye of the beholder less than ever of a regular pattern. In his despatch No. 76 of 5th May Mr. Barnes described how, after the extra parliamentary Government of the Emir Khaled Chehab had overstayed its welcome, a new administration was formed by M. Saeb Salam on the 1st May. This administration looked like falling between two stools; it did not satisfy the normal parliamentary conventions of local and confessional representation but at the same time it did not contain personalities outstanding enough to rise above these conventions and to give the country the firm hand which it has so long required. The Government's programme, as announced to the Chamber and reported in my despatch No. 92 of 20th May, sounded good but was in fact little more than window dressing. The faith which the Chamber put in the performance of these promises was shown by the narrow majority of 37 votes to 31 by which it accorded its confidence to the Government. In my telegram No. 285 of the 31st May and my Monthly Political Summary for May I recorded how the Government encountered storms of parliamentary criticism and how, after only a month of far from plain sailing, the President and his advisers were forced to the expedient of dissolving the Chamber.

2. At once, of course, any interest in the performance of the existing Government went with the wind. The budget, whose presentation to the Chamber is already six months overdue, must now await a new Chamber and perhaps a new Government after the elections. In practice the absence of a budget makes little difference since the administration is carried on by the system of *douzièmes provisoires* and in fact I understand that the Treasury is in credit to the tune of some Leb. £40 million. Political interest is in fact entirely centred on the elections, to be conducted under the new electoral law, which was passed by decree nearly nine months ago, and whose long period of gestation has led to even more

than the usual doubt about the nature of the child to which it will give birth. The confessional basis of representation is retained but the reduction of the number of Deputies from 77 to 44 means that several familiar faces will inevitably disappear and all sorts of new political crises have to be consummated. Many of those who disappear will be prominent figures and some, I think, will be a loss to the level of Lebanese political life where able and disinterested politicians are all too hard to find. Some of them may be restored to the limelight by membership of a Second Chamber, which it is known that the President has it in mind to create, and it is probably in the comforting hope that he can sink back into the red benches of an upper house that the Prime Minister himself, with a great show of neutrality, has declined to be a candidate for the coming elections for the lower house. But a Second Chamber will not be universally popular. Rumour has it that its members are to be appointed and there are many who will object to a parliamentary institution which can be packed by Presidential nomination. Others feel that 44 elected representatives of the people are quite adequate for a country of the size of the Lebanon and that the introduction of a second chamber, unless its powers are severely circumscribed, will only increase still further the already massive ability of Parliament to delay progress.

3. Two themes of controversy are at present running through the electoral debate. First, the Prime Minister's refusal to stand has incited all those who feel that the big battalions are not on their side to demand that all Ministers who are to be candidates should resign and that according to the precedent of 1951 the Government of the country should be entrusted through the electoral period to a few independent and extra-parliamentary Ministers. Four of the present Cabinet are in fact candidates and it is clear that they are uneasy lest they be later accused of securing their election by the influence which inevitably attaches to ministerial office. Their fear is less for their consciences than for their political prestige. There are signs that the President of the Republic has been impressed by the

wide-spread criticism of the position of the "Ministers-candidates"; but the Prime Minister, having cast his self-assumed mantle of integrity around his colleagues, now seems to feel, despite some initial hesitations, that it would be a sign of weakness to allow them to withdraw at this stage. In any case no resignations have as yet occurred.

4. The second theme of controversy has been the accusation that foreign embassies have been interfering in the elections. M. Abdullah Yafi, the former Prime Minister and normally a reasonable man, went so far as to accuse a member of this embassy staff (he meant the oriental secretary, although he was careful not to name him) of interfering in his own constituency. I asked him to call and pointed out the absurdity of these accusations. Although he could adduce no proof, he nevertheless allowed to be published a tendentious account of our conversation, whereupon I promptly protested to the Prime Minister and M. Yafi seems to have dropped the matter, at least in public. We have not been accused alone and some people, including M. Hamid Frangié, the Maronite who failed to be elected President last year, have denounced the interference of all three Western Powers. But the peak of absurdity was reached when M. Kamal Jumblatt, the Druze Socialist, claimed that only the Soviet Legation had its hands clean of interference and denounced the rôle which the British Intelligence Service was alleged to be playing. I have naturally kept in touch with my French and American colleagues over this aspect of the elections and we feel that these accusations are mainly trotted out as an insurance policy against the possibility of electoral defeat, and in any case comparatively little importance is attached to them in a country where it is in the normal tradition both to indulge in irresponsible abuse at the hustings and to look for foreign protectors against local opponents.

5. In all this sound and fury nothing emerges in the way of party political programmes or a clash of principle. Indeed the most surprising political combinations are the order of the day. Even the Socialist M. Jumblatt has been in conversation with the adherents of the former President whom he overthrew, since both regard the present

rulers of the country, with some justice, as inimical to themselves. Indeed there are signs that the President of the Republic and his advisers have drawn the new electoral map with the intention, as far as possible, of curtailing the influence of dissident leaders. These unnatural combinations clearly cannot survive the elections, but they are evidence of the extent to which the political alignments under the old régime have become blurred. They reflect to a large extent the way in which President Chamoun has failed to continue the impetus of the September Revolution of 1952 or to give any consistent direction to the country since that time. If I read his character aright, he has, at least during this initial period, had two guiding motives—first, his own personal vanity and, secondly, his desire to act differently from, and better than, his predecessor. These motives do not offer the makings of a consistent policy and as a result he has tended to be all things to all men and no one can be sure where they are with him. Although it is not my purpose to discuss Lebanese foreign policy in this despatch, I myself have had the same impression of uncertainty in my dealings with him whereas with his predecessor one could be certain that an undertaking once given would be honoured. As a result, though there is less criticism of nepotism and direct corruption in high places, it is evident that the virtual anarchy in the administration of the country is little better than it has ever been and those who desire reform are becoming increasingly alienated from the President who was once one of their number and indeed their parliamentary leader. The unfortunate result has been to drive people of the stamp of M. Jumblatt even further to the Left, so that what they say increasingly suits the Communist book, and to increase the tensions between the central Government and the dissatisfied feudal leaders. The situation is not healthy and if many leaders find themselves deprived of their seats at the elections it may rapidly deteriorate.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda and Tel Aviv and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

REPORT ON THE SITUATION FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS FOR THE NEW CHAMBER

Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Lord Salisbury. (Received August 22)

(No. 133. Confidential) *Beirut,*
My Lord, *August 19, 1953.*

In my despatch No. 111 of 30th June I described the course of events leading up to the elections for a new Lebanese Chamber of Deputies. The elections themselves and the political situation surrounding them were described in my Monthly Political Summary for July. As I said in that summary, the Government of Saeb Salam emerged weakened from the elections, not only because only two of its members were returned to the new Chamber but also by the increasing infirmity of its administration. The assassination on the President's doorstep of one of the candidates for North Lebanon was a blow to the Government's prestige. Moreover the enquiry into the affair drags on for the Government seem to be both unable to bring the crime home to the politicians who instigated it and unwilling meanwhile to bring the assassin himself to justice. Another example of the Government's indecision was the prosecution of Kamal Jumblatt for alleged false accusations against the authorities, which ended in his being let off with a caution and a nominal fine. Whether it was wise or not to prosecute a politician for being too outspoken in Opposition, it was certainly futile to launch the prosecution and then to let it fizzle out. The Government also allowed itself to be driven into another false position when another demagogue, Abdullah Haj, who had ousted a former Minister from a Beirut constituency, gave a press conference denouncing the weakness of the administration and the absence of any real control of public order and advising the people not to pay their taxes. The Government issued a warrant for the arrest of Abdullah Haj a few days before the Chamber was due to meet, but the Deputy escaped in his pyjamas and was still missing when the first session took place.

2. During these events press and popular criticism of the lack of firmness in the administration had been mounting and, as the Government of Saeb Salam was known to be only playing out time until the Chamber met, much of the criticism was directed against the President of the republic himself. On 9th August he clearly

thought it necessary to take the opportunity of a meeting at Deir El Kamar (where a year previously he had spoken in the gathering which had first brought into the open the strength and unity of the Opposition to the previous President and led directly to his fall) to make a speech in which he drew attention to the achievements of the Government since he himself took office, and to the way in which these achievements demonstrated continuing loyalty to the principles of the earlier meeting at Deir El Kamar and of the "September Revolution" of 1952. This speech, at a meeting in which Emil Boustani played a prominent part, was obviously intended to regain some of the President's lost credit and to ward off accusations from Kamal Jumblatt and others that His Excellency had abandoned his desire for reforms. The President claimed that he had reorganised the administration, including its finances, had reformed the Judiciary and by a new electoral law had clipped the wings of the feudal chiefs. He described these steps as the basic conditions for a sound foundation on which the superstructure would now be raised. As far as he goes the President is justified in claiming that he has changed the framework of public life, but at the same time he has not succeeded in breathing the spirit of any new constructive policy into the limbs of the body politic. The superficially healthy state of the Treasury is to a large extent due to the fact that no budget for 1953 has been presented so that no authority exists for spending the money which has been collected in taxes. It is true that there is less corruption in high places and that it is not practised on so grand a scale as under the previous régime, but although the political power of the feudal chiefs has undoubtedly been weakened the reduction of the number of Deputies under the new electoral law has left many grievances, and several prominent and useful figures have been displaced from politics.

3. There was thus a demand for a new and stronger Government to be formed when Parliament met on 13th August. First, however, the new Chamber had to elect its own Speaker, since there was a

fairly general feeling that Ahmed El Assad, one of the most notoriously corrupt figures of the former régime, should not return to the Speaker's chair. The lot fell on his main Shia Moslem political rival in South Lebanon. Adel Osseiran, a somewhat colourless figure who speaks good English and has the reputation of being a friend of Britain; in his new office, although he is unlikely to be a very strong Speaker, I expect him to prove honest but stubborn.

4. Upon the election of the Speaker, Saeb Salam presented the resignation of his Government and after the usual consultations the President of the Republic called on Abdullah Yafi to form the new Government, the composition of which was announced on 17th August and reported in my telegram No. 353 of that date. M. Yafi has responded to the somewhat natural demand of a Chamber feeling its newly elected strength, for an all-parliamentary Government. Of the new Ministers, M. Yafi himself, despite his quite unfounded accusations against this embassy during the elections, has been at pains to show friendliness subsequently and is certainly well disposed towards us. His previous showing as Prime Minister, however, does not suggest that he is likely to display any great initiative or dynamism, particularly as he has encumbered himself with three portfolios as well as the Premiership. M. Alfred Naccache, when President of the Republic, had the reputation of being a tool of the French and strongly under Jesuit influence, but as Minister of Foreign Affairs he should have the two advantages of being honest and straightforward in his dealings and of being well disposed towards the West. He headed the Lebanese Delegation to the Coronation and was immensely impressed by the experience. This will undoubtedly now prove useful to us. M. Pierre Eddé, who showed himself a surprisingly strong Minister in Saeb Salam's Government, seems a good choice for the Ministry of Finance, but the rest of the Cabinet are colourless and undistinguished. M. Bechir Awar, who recently had to resign because firearms were found in his car outside the Presidency at the time of Mohammed Abboud's assassination, is

now rehabilitated. Surprisingly enough he is now Minister of Justice. One feature of the new Government which I have noted with satisfaction is the omission of M. Georges Hakim who has given us so much trouble of recent months, particularly over oil matters, in his dual capacity of Minister for Foreign Affairs and of National Economy. The new Cabinet maintains the traditional formula of two Sunni Moslems, two Maronites and one each from the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Shia Moslem and Druze communities.

5. So far the new Government have not met the Chamber or given any indication of what programme, if any, they will pursue. They inherited the tiresome problem of Abdullah Haj, who continued to claim that he had been wrongfully arrested and on the day the new Government was formed, allowed himself to be escorted by Emil Boustani to take refuge, à la Mussadiq, in the Chamber of Deputies. On the same evening his supporters staged a demonstration in the streets of Beirut, breaking some glass in the form of shop and tramcar windows and demanding that the case against the Deputy should be dropped. Meanwhile, however, Abdullah Haj himself had appeared before the examining magistrate to whom he explained that he had meant no harm and who therefore cancelled the warrant for his arrest. This farcical affair will probably now blow over, but it appears that the internal security forces failed to obtain the usual advance warning of the demonstration and that the Prime Minister is investigating this aspect, so that the ill wind may after all bring some improvement in public order.

6. But much remains to be done if this rather uninspiring Cabinet, which has had a lukewarm reception in the press, is to capture public confidence and tackle the administrative problems confronting it.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda and Tel Aviv and to the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

EL 1012/1

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE LEBANON

Mr. Barnes to Mr. Eden. (Received April 10)

(No. 61. Confidential)
Sir,

Beirut,

April 6, 1953.

With reference to Sir William Houstoun-Boswall's despatch No. 10 of 16th January, 1951, I have the honour to transmit herewith a new report on leading personalities in the Lebanon.

2. Although some old phrases reappear, I have completely rewritten each personality, and in a number of cases I have revised the spelling so that the whole thing may as far as possible be uniform.

I have, &c.

E. J. W. BARNES.

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1. Ibrahim Abdel Aal

Born 1917, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and French School of Engineering, Beirut. Family of Egyptian origin. Engineer by training; civil servant by adoption. Formerly Director-General of Public Works; now Director-General of Concessionary Companies. Intelligent, hard-working and, as far as is known, honest, but without many social graces.

2. Mohammed Aboud Abdel-Rezzak

Born 1914, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli. Opponent of Kéram faction. Formerly Deputy. Minister of Finance, 1947-48.

3. Habib Abi-Chahla

Born about 1900, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated American University, Beirut; Lawyer. Formerly supported President Emile Eddé but broke with him in 1943. In November 1943 remained loyal to Sheikh Béchara el-Khoury in his conflict with the French, and headed resistance group in the mountains for the eleven days during which President el-Khoury and his Government were interned, during this period he acted as Head of State. President of the Chamber, 1946-47. Deputy since 1943. Several times a Minister. Now legal adviser to the Tapline Company and very influential in both political and commercial circles, in particular he has many American contacts and is much involved in the political ramifications of the oil business. A notorious womaniser, of which he boasts openly, he holds the Order of Purity and Chastity awarded by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch.

4. Halim Abou-Izzeddin

Born 1913, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated at American University, Beirut. Bachelor. Lebanese Foreign Service; after serving in Cairo transferred to Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1950; he became head of the Political Section in 1951 and Chief of

Protocol in 1953. Honest, but only moderately intelligent. Much given to promises but less to their performance. Has political ambitions and rather oleaginous manners.

5. Joseph Abou-Khater

Born Zahlé about 1905; Greek Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and studied law in France. Married. Lawyer. A leader of the anti-Skaf faction in Zahlé. Formerly Lebanese Minister in Mexico; appointed Minister at Rome, 1953. Clever and politically ambitious.

6. Ibrahim Ahdab

Born Beirut 1902; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Former contractor and engineer. Lebanese Minister at Ankara since 1947. Honest and intelligent but indecisive.

7. Nazim Akkari

Born 1898, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. The best Civil Servant in the Lebanon. Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office since 1945. Temporarily Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, September 1952. Honest, shrewd and experienced. A most useful and helpful source of advice and information.

8. Fouad Ammoun

Born 1899, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Former judge. Now Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with rank of ambassador. Well educated with a broad mind and good grasp of his profession. Friendly and helpful to this embassy within his powers but not a strong character, and without much apparent influence on policy.

9. Hussein Aouein

Born 1902, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Greek Catholic College, Beirut. Married. Of humble origins but while still young made a large fortune in Saudi Arabia where he still has many contacts. He has many other business interests, including, it is said, smuggling. Formerly Deputy, 1947-51. In 1951 formed caretaker Cabinet to supervise elections which he did successfully and honestly. Still regarded as a possible "non-political" Prime Minister but somewhat discredited for his financial connexions with the family of President el-Khoury. Clever but an unprincipled opportunist.

10. George Arida

Born about 1898, in Australia; Maronite; educated abroad, mainly in Australia, Canada and Mexico. Married. Formerly Honorary British Vice-Consul at Tripoli, having returned to his family home there and opened a textile factory which earned him great wealth during the Second World War. His wife has social ambitions (e.g., his daughter is married to Sheikh Khalil el-Khoury (No. 75)) and they are anxious to cut a dash (e.g., their purchase after the war of Hitler's yacht which they sold at a heavy loss). But he himself is a mild and amiable character with little personality.

11. Mustapha el-Ariss

Born 1912, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; primary education only. Married. Trade union leader and agitator. Started life as printer; now chairman of Printers' Union, with strong Communist leanings. Imprisoned several times. Lately in hiding but known to be active and influential behind the scenes, although his influence has somewhat declined with the growing organisation of non-Communist trade unions.

12. Fernand Arsanios

Born 1898, Batroun; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Judge. *Persona non grata* under President el-Khoury. Appointed Procureur Général of the Supreme Court in February 1953; well known for his honesty and political independence.

13. Emir Adel Arslan

Born 1886, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated School of Law of Istanbul. Bachelor. Deputy under the Turks. Prominent in the early days of Arab nationalism before and after Arab revolt. Minister under King Faisal when latter was King of Syria; later Syrian Minister under Kuwatli and Zaim. Had contacts and flirted with the Axis Powers during last war. Syrian Minister to Turkey 1950 to 1952; then settled in the Lebanon. Honest, clever but vain. Speaks good English.

14. Emir Megid Arslan

Born about 1908, Chouéfat; Druze; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Widower. Anti-German during the war; helped resist Vichy France. Several times Minister since 1943 as Druze representative, loyal to President el-Khoury; bitter opponent of Kemal Joumblatt. A cheerful, uneducated and highly venal feudal chieftain with a boyish passion for dressing-up and firearms. In the habit of smuggling cattle into Israel.

15. Ahmed el-Assad

Born 1905, Taibé, South Lebanon; Shia Moslem; primary education only. Married to the clever daughter (who never appears in public) of his uncle, from whom he has inherited the feudal paramountcy in South Lebanon. Several times Minister since 1941; President of the Chamber of Deputies since 1951. Although he puts on a pro-British façade and speaks some English, he is an unprincipled rogue with only crafty cunning, who has done very well out of the balance of power in the Lebanon and is opposed to any real reform. Despite his official position, he undermines authority by all lucrative means, including the sale of parliamentary seats and smuggling on the Israel border.

16. Georges Assi

Born 1908, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. A municipal official until January 1953 when he was appointed Mohafez of Beirut. Married to a sister of Habib Abi-Chahla (No. 3). Quite presentable. Honest and energetic but not very intelligent.

17. Gabriel Assouad

Born 1896, Beirut; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. A Civil Servant; appointed Director-General of the Interior in January 1953. Honest but weak; lacks initiative and personality. Unintelligent and servile to the powers that be.

18. Raif Bellama

Born 1897, Beirut; Maronite; educated American University, Beirut. Married. Lecturer in bacteriology at American University, Beirut. Minister of Education, 1949. Witty and a good speaker but a political light-weight.

19. Rashid Beydoun

Born about 1897, Beirut; Shia Moslem; primary education. Married. Deputy since 1943. A genial Moslem hack politician of no great significance. Has founded, partly with his own money, a large Shia Moslem college in Beirut.

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20. Amin Beyhum

Born 1907, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Elected Deputy 1951 but has since greatly disappointed his electors and has never spoken in the Chamber.

21. Mohammed Ali Beyhum

Born 1889, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. A prominent Moslem whose valour is liable to outrun his discretion.

22. Jawad Boulos

Born 1900, Tripoli; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Deputy and Minister for Foreign Affairs under French Mandate. Now an unsuccessful and disgruntled ex-politician posing as an elder statesman, ready to resume office *pour sauver la patrie*. Engaged in writing an interminable History of the Near East (he has now reached about 3,000 B.C.) about which, as most other things, he is a crashing bore.

23. Philippe Boulos

Born 1902, North Lebanon; Greek Orthodox. Married. Lawyer and politician. Several times Minister since 1941. A safe figure for a Greek Orthodox vacancy in any Government; in the intervals resumes his place as a judge. Vice-President of the Chamber since 1952. Colourless with an affable veneer.

24. Emile Boustani

Born 1907, Sidon; Maronite (with Greek Orthodox intervals when it suits him); educated American University of Beirut and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Married to a pleasant redhead. A self-made contractor of great wealth. Head of the C.A.T. (Contracting and Trading) Company with ramifications in the Arab countries and Persian Gulf. Rootes's agent at Beirut. Deputy since 1951. Strong Pan-Arabist posing as a "candid friend" of Britain with the accent on "candid." Anxious to be President of the Republic, he makes his commercial interests serve his political ambitions and *vice versa*. His main line is to gain popularity and notoriety by consistent opposition to the powers that be. The *enfant terrible* of Lebanese politics, he should not be trusted out of eyesight or earshot but his skin is so thick that he is quite an engaging rogue. Speaks excellent English.

25. Nicolas Bustros

Born 1896, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. A rich socialite of a rather effeminate type. Entered official life as Chief of Protocol to the President of the Republic, 1937. Resigned 1938. Re-appointed 1943; later transferred in same capacity to Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1949. Holds rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Active in intrigues leading to fall of President el-Khoury in September 1952. A quarrelsome chatterbox but intelligent and well informed, with pleasant social manners.

26. Camille Joseph Chamoun

Born 1903, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse, Beirut. Bachelor. Journalist and president of the Lebanese Press Syndicate. An amiable and comparatively honest individual who is well informed by virtue of his job and whose rather foxy and shifty appearance is probably misleading.

27. Camille Nimr Chamoun

Born 1901, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married to the former Zelfa Tabet, an attractive woman of mixed Irish and

Lebanese extraction; his sons have been educated in England. President of the Republic since September 1952; formerly lawyer and politician. Minister of the Interior, September 1943; arrested by the French November 1943, since when strongly prejudiced against France. Lebanese Minister in London 1944-47. Minister of Finance 1947 and of the Interior 1947 to May 1948. The most consistent leader of the Opposition to President el-Khoury from 1948 to September 1952, when he was himself elected President, defeating Hamid Frangié. Although honest and with genuine reformist sympathies, he has proved too weak so far to pursue a consistent policy as President. Of attractive presence, he has relied too much on his personal popularity and has been a disappointment to the Opposition and the despair of the old political bosses whom he refuses to consult. Despite his British connexions and superficial Anglicisms, his foreign policy has been largely dominated by Arab sentiments, although he would undoubtedly support the West in any conflict with communism. His attractive personality makes excellent first impressions, especially on women, but his intellectual wooliness tends to become exasperating. Speaks excellent English.

28. Joseph Nimr Chamoun

Born 1896, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères and American University of Beirut. Married. Brother of President Camille Chamoun. Director-General of Public Works 1944-48. Director-General of Inspection Department since June 1952. Now anxious to pose as the power behind the throne for which rôle he is utterly unsuited. An industrious subordinate.

29. R. P. Charles de Chamussy

Born about 1903; Père Recteur (Head) of St. Joseph's University (Jesuits). While a convinced French Jesuit, he has charming manners and is always friendly to this embassy.

30. Joseph Charbel

Born 1896, Zahlé; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse. Bachelor. Procureur-Général 1943-52. Now President of the Conseil d'Etat. Honest and well educated but without much moral courage.

31. Emir Farid Chehab

Born 1909; Maronite; educated privately. Married. Head of Counter Espionage Department under the French Mandate. Imprisoned by Free French for contacts with Vichy 1942-43. Re-entered Police Department 1943 and became Director of Sûreté-Générale 1948. A good linguist who gets on well with the British, but is not as deeply imbued with a sense of civic duty as he would have them believe. Extravagant and somewhat of a playboy but honest and conscientious.

32. General Fouad Chehab

Born 1901, Beirut; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères Maristes Jounieh. Married to a French wife. Trained in the French army and Commander-in-chief of the Lebanese Armed Forces since 1945. Gained great prestige for keeping the peace during "revolution" of September 1952, when he was temporarily Prime Minister. Honest and loyal and determined to preserve the political independence of the army. His personal charm is greater than his intelligence and he is the exasperation of his more politically-minded subordinates.

33. Emir Jamil Chehab

Born 1898, Beirut; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères Maristes, Jounieh. Married. Civil Servant who served in Finance and Customs departments

with distinction. Now head of Cour des Comptes (Audit Department). Although hard working and conscientious, his obstinacy and narrow-mindedness have brought him into trouble with his superiors. But his independent judgment is valued by the I.P.C.

34. Emir Khaled Chehab

Born 1891, Hasbaya; Sunni Moslem; primary education. Married. Formerly Prime Minister and President of the Chamber under the French Mandate. Lebanese Minister at Amman 1948-52 when he was recalled by President Chamoun to become Prime Minister. Honest and possessed of a certain peasant shrewdness but his weakness and a certain appearance of imbecility were not calculated to inculcate respect for his Government. He is, however, well meaning and friendly.

35. Michel Chiha

Born 1893, Beirut; Roman Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Banker and journalist. Brother-in-law of President el-Khoury and close political associate of Henri Pharaon (No. 100). Through his daily article in *Le Jour* (which he owns) he is a vigorous advocate of Christian influence in the Lebanon and of co-operation with the West (subject to the usual Arab reservations on such things as Palestine). As a young man he lived in Manchester and has a deep respect for the liberal thought and culture of Western Europe, but his philosophy shows Thomist trends and his mind has the authoritarian bent of his Jesuit training. As a director of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban, he takes a close and shrewd interest in financial affairs but with the fall of President el-Khoury he has lost political influence and being already remote from popular contacts, has withdrawn increasingly into his ivory tower. When he emerges, he is a man of charm and culture and an excellent talker in English and French.

36. Georges Choueiri

Born 1909, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University of Beirut. Merchant. Appointed municipal councillor in 1951 but soon resigned "finding the whole thing too dirty to work in." Again appointed municipal councillor in February 1953 and elected Vice-President of Beirut Municipality. Very honest and straightforward.

37. Ahmed Daouk

Born 1899, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Prime Minister 1941-42 but lost influence through weakness and incompetence. Appointed Lebanese Minister in Paris 1944 and promoted Ambassador in 1953. Often spoken of as a possible "neutral" Prime Minister.

38. Nadim Demechkié

Born 1915, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married to an English wife. Lebanese Foreign Service. Served London, Ottawa, and Cairo. An able and likeable young man, he is inclined to advocate Arab nationalist views and wishes to enter political life. Speaks good English.

39. Baron Maxime de Dumazi

Born about 1890. Formerly a general in the French air force and "chef de Cabinet" to the French Air Minister. Since 1946 managing director of the French concessionary Port Company of Beirut. A busy little man with pleasant manners who runs a good show and does much for its public relations.

40. Pierre Eddé

Born 1920, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Son of late President Emile Eddé; married 1950 a rich Lebanese of Brazil. Politician and champion of Christian rights in the Lebanon. Although active in politics ever since his childhood, his first entry into public life was his election as Deputy of Mount Lebanon in 1951. Shrewd and intriguer.

41. Raymond Eddé

Born 1918, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Bachelor. Lawyer. Elder son of President Emile Eddé from whom he inherited leadership of the francophile "Bloc National." Honest and likeable.

42. Jean Fattal

Born 1903, Damascus; Syrian Catholic; educated in Austria. Married. Merchant and part owner of a firm of commission agents in Damascus and Beirut. Personally honest but a shrewd money-maker with his ear close to the political ground.

43. Hamid Frangié

Born 1905, Zghorta; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. Since 1941 several times Minister, usually of Foreign Affairs. One of the main leaders of the Christian faction in North Lebanon. Although at first a sturdy champion of an independent Lebanon, has steadily repaired his fences with the French and was backed by them to succeed President el-Khoury in 1952, after he had tentatively come out in support of the Opposition. His disappointment at not being elected led to a partial estrangement with President Chamoun and his interest turned largely to building up his fortunes as a corporation lawyer, but he is still quite young and intelligent, with a wide knowledge of Western European culture and he cannot fail to return as a political force in the future. Although a true Lebanese he is more able than most to look at events through international spectacles.

44. Moussa de Freige

Born 1910, Beirut; Roman Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Has the hereditary papal title of Marquis which he likes to use. A wealthy socialite and race-horse owner, connected with the family of President el-Khoury and unpopular among Moslems.

45. Maurice Gemayel

Born 1910, Bikfaya; Maronite; educated Jesuit University and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. Lawyer. Leading Phalangist; cousin and brother-in-law of Pierre Gemayel (No. 46). Seeks to promote irrigation and electrical schemes. Relatively honest and intelligent.

46. Pierre Gemayel

Born about 1909, Bikfaya; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Leader of the Phalange Movement which affects extreme Christian and Lebanese nationalist in opposition to Moslem Pan-Arab ideas. Although one of the most vigorous, reformist politicians outside the Chamber, he is probably more noisy than influential.

47. Colonel Jean Aziz Ghazi

Born 1900, Beirut; Maronite; educated Egypt and French Army Schools. Married to a French wife. Although next in seniority to General Chehab in Lebanese army has little say in its affairs. A pleasant and vigorous personality, but discipline seems to irk him and he is inclined to rather loose

anti-Western talk, which may reflect political ambitions and restlessness in his present job. Speaks English.

48. Ibrahim Haidar

Born 1888, Bekaa; Shia Moslem; educated locally and in France. Married. Deputy and former Minister. A tiny little man whose bumptiousness and seniority in the Chamber gives his remarks more weight than they deserve. A crafty and dishonest political intriguer who lost his last ministerial post for complicity in hashish smuggling.

49. Selim Haidar

Born 1912, Baalbek; Shia Moslem. Doctor of law, Paris. Judge and poet turned politician, with an attractive and lively wife. Lebanese Minister in Tehran from 1948 till October 1952, when he became Cabinet Minister. An amiable and gentle but colourless figure with intellectual leanings.

50. Georges Haimari

Born 1898, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. "Chef de Cabinet" to the President of the Republic 1920-43 and from 1945. O.B.E. 1947. Chairman of Lebanese Government Commission on Palestine Refugees since 1948. Honest until a few years ago when he began to feather his own and his family's nest. Much under the influence of his father confessors but very friendly and helpful to the British. He is rather an old woman and his relations with President Chamoun, though strained at first, are now steadily improving.

51. Abdallah Hajj

Born 1898, Ghobairi (near Beirut); Shia Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. School-teacher in Bagdad, then a politician. Elected Deputy in 1951 in the Opposition list where he still belongs. Dishonest but dynamic. A rather unsavoury character with a nuisance value in politics.

52. Georges Hakim

Born 1914, Tripoli, Greek Orthodox; educated at American University of Beirut. Married to an American wife. Professor and politician; after teaching economics at the American University of Beirut joined Lebanese Foreign Service and served at Lebanese Legation at Washington and the permanent Lebanese delegation at the United Nations. Appointed Minister of Finance and National Economy October 1952; also Foreign Minister in February 1953. Honest and very intelligent, but stubborn and inclined to take an academic approach. Holds Left-wing economic views which he applies skilfully and with more political sense than appears at first sight.

53. Sabri Hamadé

Born about 1903, Bekaa; Shia Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married to daughter of Ahmed al-Assad (No. 15). Deputy and former Minister. President of the Chamber of Deputies 1943-46 and 1948-51. A crude and venal politician whose local influence in the Bekaa gives him a nuisance value. A notorious hashish smuggler and one of the principal targets of the reformers.

54. Said Hamadé

Born about 1895, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated American University of Beirut. Widower. Professor of applied economics, American University of Beirut. The Laski of the Lebanon (in moderation). Inspires the generally Left-wing economic

views of such people as Georges Hakim and Kemal Joumlatt. But a very gentle revolutionary with much charm and a good command of English.

55. Chafik Hatem

Born 1910, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. Judge. Senior and leading official of the Ministry of Justice until February, 1953, when he became acting Director-General of that Ministry. An efficient subordinate who knows how to make himself useful, especially to President Chamoun, as a draftsman and expert on legal matters. Although fairly honest, he is a time-server and intriguer.

56. Charles Helou

Born 1912, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. Closely associated on *Le Jour* with Michel Chiha who is also his political patron. Lebanese Minister to the Holy See 1947-49; Minister for Foreign Affairs 1951-52. An intelligent and patriotic Lebanese of the Christian persuasion with a close eye on his own advancement.

57. Khalil Hibri

Born 1907, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Wealthy businessman (cars and real estate). Arab nationalist but makes no secret of his belief in co-operation with the British. Spends lavishly to ensure his popularity among lower class Moslems of Beirut. Influential in Moslem organisations. Honest, loyal and generous.

58. Joseph Hitti

Born 1896, Shemlan; Maronite; educated American University of Beirut, followed by medical studies in the United States of America and Canada. Married. Brother of Professor Philippe Hitti, the Arab historian, of Princeton University, United States of America. Elected Deputy in 1947; stood again in 1951 but failed. Honest and a good physician without much personality or presence. His judgment in political matters is somewhat distorted by personal disappointments. But he makes himself useful as a political go-between and "fixer."

59. Joseph Hrawi

Born 1893, Zahl-e; Maronite; primary education only. Married. Deputy; formerly Minister of Agriculture and Posts and Telegraphs. Sympathises with the Communists but claims that it is only for electoral purposes. A born subordinate.

60. Sayed Ahmed el-Husseini

Born 1888, Bekaa; Shia Moslem; primary education. Married. Deputy and former Minister. He speaks neither English nor French and cuts very little ice, although nobody seems to know very much against him.

61. Kemal Joumlatt

Born 1914, Mount Lebanon; Druze; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married to a lively and intelligent member of the Arslan clan. Deputy since 1943 and feudal leader of the Druze faction opposed to the Arslans. He is also leader of the Socialist and Progressive Party and the principal exponent of ideological socialism in the Lebanon, which he expounds on the platform and through his newspaper *Al Anba*. His party symbol is the crossed pick-axe and pencil. His reformist views and his personal attacks were a main motive force leading to President el-Khoury's fall in September 1952. But he has since not concealed his disappointment with the slow progress of reform under President

Chamoun. He is working hard to increase his following in the Chamber after new elections but it is hard to know how much of his influence is ideological and how much depends on his position as a Druze chieftain. He is closely interested in Asiatic currents of thought, particularly in Indian mysticism but at the same time he is quite a shrewd, practical politician whose social and economic theories, if extreme, are consistent and well argued. Although opposed to communism he is inclined to neglect the dangers of his Left-wing neutralism. While of uncouth appearance and a fiery demagogue in public he has gentle and unassuming manners in private conversation. His devotion to his cause and his mystical practices are probably ruining his health, but while he lasts he is likely to remain one of the most interesting figures in the Lebanon.

62. Mlle. Ibtihaj Kaddoura

Born 1898, Beirut; Sunni Moslem. Leading member of various feminist organisations. Appointed municipal councillor February 1953. Honest and well meaning.

63. Georges Karam

Born 1897, Beirut; Maronite; educated Antoura College (Lazarists). Married. Rich timber merchant and large share-holder in Air Liban. Elected Deputy 1951. The fact that he was once imprisoned for a false Customs declaration has been conveniently forgotten. Neither honest nor intelligent but shrewd at making money. Vain and mean but quite presentable socially.

64. Joseph Karam

Born 1899, Zghorta; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli. Married. The principal contender with Hamid Frangié for leadership of the Christians in North Lebanon. Deputy since 1944. Rather weak character.

65. Rifaat Kazoun

Born about 1908, Bekaa; Sunni Moslem; educated Lycée Français. Married. Deputy since 1943. Vain and a known arms smuggler, he is also a fanatical Moslem and was arrested in December 1952 for complicity in the murder of a Christian lawyer during municipal elections.

66. Raschid Keramé

Born 1923, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; has law degree from Cairo. Bachelor. Feudal leader who inherited political influence and prestige in Tripoli of his father, Abdel Hamid Keramé, but which he has not yet consolidated. Elected Deputy 1951; has served as Minister of Justice. Weak, vain and moderately intelligent but honest and well meaning.

67. Charles Kettaneh

Born 1905, Jerusalem; Roman Catholic; educated American University of Beirut. Married to a charming and intelligent wife. Member of the important merchant firm of Kettaneh Frères. Although scrupulous in his personal dealings he is a tough and ruthless businessman. Has shrewd business sense but outside this field his judgment is fallible. Very wealthy and generous.

68. Joseph Khadige

Born 1900, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. President of the Merchants' Association. A strong and shrewd champion of Lebanon's commercial independence of her Moslem neighbours. Taciturn and straightforward.

69. Anoir Khatib

Born 1903, Shehim; Sunni Moslem; educated School of Law, Damascus. Formerly judge, then

practised as lawyer. Prominent member of the Socialist Progressive Party of Kemal Joumlatt; Deputy since 1951. Fairly intelligent and relatively honest.

70. Izzet Khourchid

Born 1902, Beirut (of family with Turkish origins); Sunni Moslem; educated Ottoman Government School, Beirut. Married. Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1945-52, with intervals as Chief of Police. Now Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs. Honest and civilised, he tends to be used to lend respectability to a Department which has lost face.

71. Sheikh Béchara el-Khoury

Born 1892, Beirut (with family origins in Mount Lebanon); Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. After bitter opposition to President Eddé and several terms as Prime Minister under French Mandate, he became the first independent President of the Lebanese Republic in 1943, and stood firmly against French pretensions in that year, being interned for his pains. Throughout his term of office he remained grateful for British support at that time. As President he showed great skill in manipulating the balance of political forces in the country and in thereby maintaining himself as the dominant factor in public life. But his inability to say "no" to his family (wife, brothers, son and remoter relatives) led to his régime becoming a synonym for corruption and nepotism. His increasingly blind self-confidence led him to resent and to try to suppress the criticism and clamour for reform and so brought him into conflict with the press and public opinion. During 1952 the opposition to him gradually gained momentum and forced him to resign in September, since when he has retired into private life, although reputed still to take a close, indirect interest in politics. In foreign affairs he had remained consistently pro-Western and anti-Communist throughout his term of office. His shortcomings as President derived mainly from weakness and inability to rise above the moral standards of those who surrounded him; but he had been a clever and successful lawyer; he conducted public business with efficiency and despatch and he is kindly and amiable in private contacts.

72. Elias Khoury

Born 1898, Mount Lebanon; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse, Beirut. Married. Prominent in medical organisations and good works. Deputy and former Minister of Health. Honest and well meaning but, as far as his political ambitions go, rather a burnt-out volcano owing to his close connexions with President el-Khoury.

73. Emile Khoury

Born about 1887; Maronite; educated Collège de la Sagesse, Beirut. Bachelor. Journalist and diplomatist. Formerly foreign correspondent of Egyptian paper *El-Ahram*. Lebanese Minister at Rome 1948-53. Intelligent but not trusted.

74. Sheikh Fouad el-Khoury

Born 1894, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Wealthy merchant with a finger in almost every commercial pie. Brother of President el-Khoury whom he supported financially on the way up. During his brother's term of office greatly increased his already substantial fortune.

75. Sheikh Khalil el-Khoury

Born 1923; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married to the rich and charming former Jacqueline Arida, daughter of George Arida (No. 10).

Elder son of President el-Khoury and member of his law firm. Made a large fortune by exploiting his privileged position during his father's presidency. He has since decided to lie rather low. He is well versed in the technique of corrupt political intrigue, but his methods are so tortuous that they tend to become transparent.

76. Sheikh Sami el-Khoury

Born 1895, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Brother of President el-Khoury. Formerly in Department of Justice. Secretary-General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1944-45. Lebanese Minister at Cairo 1945-52; at Brussels and The Hague since December 1952. A neat little man with no great intelligence or personality.

77. Sheikh Selim el-Khoury

Born 1896, Rashmaya; Maronite; educated at Jesuit University, Beirut. Bachelor. Brother of President el-Khoury, during whose presidency he exercised great influence behind the scenes and came to be known as "the Sultan." Though he never attended the Chamber he controlled eleven votes there. He thus made himself one of the main targets of the reformers. Little is heard of him now and he is presumably resting on his tarnished laurels.

78. Victor Khoury

Born 1903, Hadeth; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and in Mexico. Bachelor whose sister acts as hostess. Formerly lawyer. In 1944 appointed Counsellor at Lebanese Legation at London; Minister in 1947 and Ambassador in 1953. Not a very strong character but makes good use of his amiable social manners.

79. Salah Lababidi

Born 1896, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Civil Servant, formerly Subdistrict Governor (Kaimakam) of Baalbek. Appointed Chief of Police of Beirut, March 1953. Arabic scholar; honest and energetic; a great friend of Abdallah Yafi.

80. Emile Lahoud

Born 1897, Mount Lebanon; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. Deputy since 1943 and several times Minister. A loyal adherent of President el-Khoury. A good speaker and an intelligent man. He is not on good terms with President Chamoun and suffers from heart trouble.

81. Subhi Mahmassani

Born 1908, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Yceé Français, American University of Beirut and French School of Law. Married. A judge until 1947 when he resigned to stand unsuccessfully for Parliament. Now practises law; legal adviser to Point IV in the Lebanon. A clean and clever lawyer.

82. Charles Malik

Born 1906, North Lebanon; Greek Orthodox; educated American University of Beirut and Harvard. Married. Formerly professor of philosophy and science, American University of Beirut. Since 1945 Lebanese Minister at Washington, and Permanent Representative at the United Nations. He has attracted much attention by public speaking in the United States and has built up for himself an influential position in Washington. His reputation in his own country has also gained through his long absence from the scene. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*. Despite his academic background he now undoubtedly has political ambitions (if he fails to pull off a big United Nations job).

83. Nasri Malouf

Born 1911, Mount Lebanon; Greek Catholic; educated Syrian School of Law of Damascus. Bachelor. Lawyer, journalist and politician. Prominent member of the National Appeal Party. Part-owner of *Al Jarida* newspaper; brilliant writer and orator in Arabic. Honest and proud of his independence but lazy. Susceptible to feminine influence.

84. Abdallah Mashnouq

Born 1899, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Journalist formerly principal of the Moslem Makassed College of Beirut. Owns and edits *Beirut al-Massa*. Edits a weekly magazine *Oil* for the I.P.C. A fanatic on the subject of Islam and a strong supporter of Syro-Lebanese union. Clever and a strong personality, but venal (although discreetly). Speaks good English.

85. Badri Meoushi

Born 1902; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. President of the High Court since 1950. Only moderately clever but is honest and has proved independent of political influence as a judge.

86. Jamil Mikaoui

Born 1911, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Lycée Français, Beirut. Married to a French wife. Influential among younger Moslems and formerly leader of the Moslem nationalist Najjadel Party. Served at Lebanese Legation at London, and Minister at Berne since 1946. Superficially unattractive but ambitious.

87. Moussa Mobarak

Born 1901, Antoura; Maronite; educated Lazarist College, Antoura. Married to an intelligent wife. Closely associated with the French Mandatory authorities 1923-41. Appointed "chef de Cabinet" to President el-Khoury 1943. In charge of Customs Department since 1944 except for an interlude from September 1952 to February 1953 when he was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Despite his French culture and connexions he is consistently friendly to the British and is honest and independent. He is almost unique in the Lebanon as having resigned a Ministerial portfolio on a point of principle, and he stands well with both former President el-Khoury and President Chamoun. Intelligent and excellent company, but given to talking too much and thus occasionally dropping bricks.

88. Moukhtar Moukaiech

Born 1901, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Bachelor. Formerly lawyer. Interned for pro-German activities 1942. Served diplomatic posts including Washington, Ankara and Ottawa. Fanatical Moslem. Intelligent but restless and dissatisfied with his lot.

89. Saadi Mounla

Born 1895, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; educated Ottoman Government School, Tripoli. Bachelor. Landowner and politician. Deputy and former Minister. Prime Minister in 1946. A genial old muddle-head who is trying to develop financial connexions with the Persian Gulf.

90. Kamel Mroueh

Born 1916; Shia Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Journalist; now editor of *Hayat* and *The Daily Star*; also Reuter's correspondent in Beirut. Broadcast from Britain in the war. Violently nationalist. A clever and unscrupulous journalist, not to be trusted. Speaks excellent English.

91. Gabriel Murr

Born 1895; Greek Orthodox; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Served in United States Army in First World War. Returned to Lebanon in 1922 and became cinema proprietor. Deputy 1943-51. Several times Minister. Honest and well meaning.

92. Alfred Naccache

Born 1894, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Formerly lawyer and President of the Court of Appeal. President of the Lebanese Republic under French Mandate 1941-43 when dismissed by General Catroux. Deputy 1943-47. Has done some political journalism. He is much under Jesuit influence but his opposition to President el-Khoury commends him to President Chamoun who often consults him. He is absolutely honest but neither a strong character nor a capable administrator.

93. Georges Naccache

Born 1903, Alexandria; Maronite; educated Jesuit College, Alexandria. Married. Formerly civil engineer; now newspaper owner and journalist. Part-proprietor of *L'Orient* since 1924. Writes well and is clever; but gambles and is venal.

94. Abid Nahas

Born 1903, Tripoli; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège des Frères Tripoli. Married. Government servant. Formerly Director-General of the Interior and Mohafez of South Lebanon. Lebanese Minister at Buenos Aires since 1948. A first rate official, honest, intelligent, capable and pro-British. O.B.E. 1947.

95. General Souleiman Naufal

Born 1900, Merjayoun; Greek Catholic; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Served in the Lebanese Army under the French Mandate. Appointed head of the Gendarmerie 1941 and dismissed after collaborating with the French in November 1943. Formerly Director-General, Ministry of National Economy and then Minister of National Economy 1947-48. Now controls the Capitole Cinema and does some journalism. Honest and capable, he believes strongly in maintaining the Christian position in the Lebanon if necessary by authoritarian methods.

96. Muhieddin Nsouli

Born 1900, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Journalist. Owns and edits newspaper *Beirut*. Former Deputy. Interned as Axis sympathiser 1941 but is now strong supporter of co-operation with the West against Communism. Despite his Arab loyalties, is ready to take a moderate line on such things as Palestine and Middle East defence. Speaks English.

97. Mustapha Nsouli

Born 1916, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Bachelor. Civil Servant; joined Lebanese Administration in 1944 after working in his father's firm (glassware). Appointed Director-General of National Economy in February 1953. Honest and intelligent. Speaks English and is in close touch with United States Embassy; but also most helpful to this embassy.

98. Adel Osseiran

Born 1903, Sidon; Shia Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Landowner and lawyer. Rival leader to Ahmed el-Assad in South Lebanon. Close political associate of Camille Chamoun (now President) from 1943.

Strong Arab nationalist, especially on Palestine, but friendly to Britain. A strong character, blunt and uncompromising. Speaks excellent English.

99. Stephen Penrose

Born about 1898; Protestant. Married. President of the American University of Beirut since 1949. Smooth and friendly on the surface with the usual high-minded American academic ideals. But prepared on occasion to push American intellectual and political wares at the expense of other Western interests.

100. Henri Pharaon

Born 1902, Beirut; Greek Catholic; educated privately and Jesuit University, Beirut. Widower. Banker, politician and race-horse owner, in ascending order of interest. Deputy since 1943 and several times Minister, usually of Foreign Affairs. He is related to President el-Khoury under whose régime he established himself as one of the principal "robber barons." By lavish expenditure poses as champion of Christian lower classes in Beirut. Homosexual and not above employing gangsters or bribery, he represents the worst type of Middle Eastern politician with whom we have to deal. Nevertheless, although he is off the political stage for the time being, he believes in co-operation with the West and has spoken in favour of Middle East defence.

101. General Noureddine Rifai

Born about 1895, Tripoli; Sunni Moslem; educated Ottoman Government School, Beirut. Married. Served in the Gendarmerie. Formerly Mohafez of North Lebanon. Appointed Director of Internal Security Forces June 1952 until March 1953, when he was made Inspector-General only of the Internal Security Forces, being thus deprived of some prerogatives. An impressive little man but a firm, capable administrator. Homosexual.

102. Mme. Helene Rihan

Born about 1907, Beirut; Greek Orthodox. Wife of Dr. Habib Rihan of American University of Beirut. A leading advocate of women's rights. Formerly taught in a school for girls in Cairo. Appointed municipal councillor February 1953.

103. Abdel Rahman Sahmarani

Born 1903, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut and the Sorbonne. Bachelor. His sister acts as his hostess. President of the Beirut Chamber of Commerce since 1949. A pompous bore, much given to lecturing Western representatives on how to conduct their policy so as to satisfy Arab aspirations, but unfortunately quite influential, particularly in a Pan-Arab direction.

104. Mohammed Salam

Born 1897, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Businessman interested in Middle East Airlines. Runs the Moslem Makassad College and believes in British methods of education. Not a very inspiring personality but loyal to his British connexions. Speaks good English.

105. Saeb Salam

Born about 1902, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married to a charming and gentle wife. Brother of Mohammed Salam (No. 104). Politician and business man. The moving force in Middle East Airlines. Deputy in the 1943 and 1951 Chambers. Formerly Minister of the Interior. Prime Minister for a few days in September 1952 when he helped administer the *coup de grâce* to President el-Khoury. He has many

American connexions but is also sincerely friendly to Britain. A bit of an adventurer in politics and business but he is intelligent and forward looking and is likely to remain a prominent figure. Speaks excellent English.

106. Anis Saleh

Born 1907, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Formerly Magistrate and Director-General of Justice. He made himself too useful to President el-Khoury and did not survive his fall.

107. Joseph Salem

Born 1897, Tyre; Greek Catholic; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Influential business man (mainly banking and insurance). Lebanese Minister at Cairo 1944-45. Minister of the Interior 1945-46. On close terms with President el-Khoury but maintains contact with President Chamoun and is usually well informed on what goes on behind the scenes. Although rather boorish at first sight he is usually friendly and co-operative and certainly has intelligence and independent judgment.

108. Colonel Toufiq Salem

Born 1904; Tyre; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Trained in the French army (as a contemporary of General Shishakli). Chief of Staff of the Lebanese Armed Forces since 1945. A brusque and quick-tempered officer who tends to fret under General Chehab's calmer methods but is fundamentally good natured and helpful.

109. Joseph Saouda

Born 1888; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and Paris. Married. Lawyer, formerly Deputy and journalist. Strongly anti-Moslem but also consistent opponent of French influence in the Lebanon. Lebanese Minister to Brazil 1946-53 and the Holy See since 1953.

110. Fouad Sarrouf

Born 1906 in Cairo, of Lebanese origin; Greek Orthodox; educated at the American University of Beirut. Married to a pleasant wife born and brought up in Manchester. Journalist. Edited *Al-Mokattam* newspaper in Cairo, founded by his father. Wrote Roosevelt's life in Arabic. Appointed Vice-President (in charge of Public Relations) of American University of Beirut in 1952. Capable and honest.

111. Mohammed Shoucair

Born 1912, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated American University of Beirut. Married. Politician and journalist. Member of the tiny but vocal National Appeal Party. Part-owner of *Al-Nida* newspaper. Was a disciple and great admirer of late Riad Solh. Clever, ambitious and honest by Lebanese standards but loyal to his friends. Visited England 1952.

112. Sami Shoucair

Born 1923, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University, Beirut and studied electrical engineering in the United States. Bachelor. Appointed Director of Civil Aviation in the Lebanon in August 1950. Although born wealthy would not miss an opportunity of making money. His main interests are women and money and he is unscrupulous and energetic in pursuit of these objectives.

113. Abdel Karim Sibahi

Born 1887, Hama, Syria; Sunni Moslem; educated in Istanbul. A merchant with real estate in Germany where he spent the years of World War II when he

was well-known for his pro-Nazi sympathies. Having been appointed a municipal councillor at the request of Abdallah Yafi he was elected President of the Municipality in February 1953. Lacks energy and experience in administration. Involved in two administrative municipal scandals in 1951 in regard to building a slaughter house and the aerodrome.

114. Alfred Skaf

Born 1907, Zahle; Greek Catholic; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. A powerful figure in the Bekaa but off the political stage since an unsuccessful term as Minister of Supply in 1943.

115. Jean Skaf

Born 1908, Zahle; Greek Catholic; educated at Zahle. Bachelor. Leading member of the Phalange in the Bekaa. Deputy since 1951. Intelligent and ambitious.

116. Kazem Solh

Born 1903, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Istanbul, Damascus and French School of Law, Beirut. Married. President of the National Appeal Party. Lebanese Minister at Bagdad since 1947. Honest and intelligent.

117. Sami Solh

Born 1891, Sidon; Sunni Moslem; educated Istanbul Government College. Widower. Son of a Turkish official. Formerly Magistrate and President of the High Court. Prime Minister 1942-43, 1945-46 and 1952, when he resigned in protest against President el-Khoury's attempt to throw upon him the blame for corruption in public life. He retains considerable influence with the lower Moslem classes in Beirut, but although amiable and well meaning is too vain and too weak to follow any consistent line of thought of policy for very long.

118. Takiyeddin Solh

Born 1910, Saida; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Bachelor. Cousin of late Riad Solh and nephew of Sami Solh (No. 117). Arab nationalist with political ambitions; dabbles in journalism. Part editor and part owner of *An-Nida*. Prominent member of National Appeal Party. Formerly Counsellor of Lebanese Legation at Cairo; later in Secretariat of Arab League. Very intelligent and relatively honest, but given to intrigues.

119. Georges Tabet

Born 1891, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Several times Minister. Has some influence in Maronite circles but is rather a contemptible old man out-classed by his wife.

120. Jacques Tabet

Born 1887, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. A rich socialite and land owner who keeps in the social swing but has no political significance.

121. Mme. Laure Tabet

Born 1896, Alexandria; Maronite; educated at Roman Catholic College for Girls, Alexandria. Wife of Georges Tabet (No. 119). Having no children, diverted her energies into feminist activities in and outside Lebanon, notably Red Cross and international Council of Women. Appointed municipal councillor, February 1953. Highly civilised and speaks good English.

122. Maurice Tabet

Born 1919, Beirut; Maronite; educated at Jesuit University, Beirut. Son of Jacques Tabet (No. 120). Married to an attractive Canadian girl. Joined

Lebanese Foreign Service in 1947; served in New York and Ottawa. Since 1952 Assistant Chief of Protocol. Nice manners but little experience. Speaks good English.

123. Bahige Takiyeddin

Born 1908, Baaklin; Druze; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Lawyer and politician. Deputy; formerly Minister of Agriculture. A loyal adherent of the Arslan faction and therefore of President el-Khoury, whose spokesman he has often been in the Chamber.

124. Khalil Takiyeddin

Born 1905, Baaklin; Druze; educated Collège Patriarcal, Beirut. Married. Civil Servant, and Arabic poet. Served mainly in the Secretariat of the Chamber until appointed Lebanese Minister at Moscow and Stockholm 1946-53 when he became Minister to Mexico. Clever and socially presentable but servile and venal. Like the rest of his family, an opportunist.

125. Philippe Takla

Born 1914; Greek Catholic; educated Collège des Lazaristes, Antoura. Married to a rich Lebanese of Brazil by virtue of whose fortune he has acquired a certain independent standing. Lawyer and politician. Deputy since 1945 and loyal supporter of President el-Khoury. Several times Minister for Foreign Affairs. He is intelligent and in most respects honest and has pleasant manners. He is quick on the uptake and easy to deal with on matters of business. Friendly and helpful to this embassy.

126. Colonel Fauzi Traboulsi

Born 1901, Deir el-Kamar; Maronite; educated Collège des Frères, Beirut. Married. Served Lebanese Gendarmerie, later in command of Internal Security Forces. A personal friend of President Chamoun. Honest and loyal but tactless, vain, pompous, excitable and of mediocre intelligence.

127. Gabriel Trad

Born 1893, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. A rich socialite who enjoys parties but is also generous and prominent in charitable organisations. Honest and likeable but with no pretensions to intelligence, although he has travelled widely.

128. André Tueni

Born 1910, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated Collège des Frères, Tripoli. Married. Civil Servant. Formerly Director-General of Finance, now Director-General of Public Works. Relatively honest, hard worker and capable but an unattractive creature. Unpopular with his subordinates.

129. Ghassan Tueni

Born 1926, Beirut; Greek Orthodox; educated at the American University of Beirut and then studied journalism at Harvard University, United States. Bachelor. Journalist and politician. Prominent member of the P.P.S.; Deputy since 1951. Editor of *Nahar*. Educated, ambitious and energetic. Relatively honest. The typical young man with great possessions but Left-wing inclinations. Speaks excellent English and visited England 1951.

130. Charles Tyan

Born 1900, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Civil Servant employed in Ministry of Public Works 1943-52 where he acquired wide expert knowledge of oil and transport. Now out of a regular job. Undoubtedly very corrupt but helpful to the I.P.C.

131. Abdallah Yafi

Born 1899, Beirut; Sunni Moslem; educated Jesuit University, Beirut, and in France. Married. Lawyer and politician. Several times Minister. Prime Minister 1936 and again 1951-52. A comparatively honest politician who grew increasingly restive under President el-Khoury's régime. He is still a possible Prime Minister. It is probably with this in mind and with a view to the next election rather than out of any real conviction that he is playing with the idea of forming a Democratic Socialist Party. Well intentioned and friendly but rather dull and colourless.

132. Simon Zouein

Born 1910, Beirut; Maronite; educated Jesuit University, Beirut. Married. Served all his life in Gendarmerie; now head of it with rank of colonel. Honest and loyal.

133. Constantin Zuraik

Born 1908, Damascus; Greek Orthodox; educated American University of Beirut and United States. Married. Professor at American University of Beirut; then president of Syrian University, Damascus, which post he relinquished in 1952 to become vice-president of the American University of Beirut (Administration). Nationalist; honest and capable.

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Maronite

1. Monseigneur Antoine Abed
Born 1901. Archbishop of Tripoli since 1931. Closely associated with the French but friendly to this embassy. Also interested in commerce.

2. His Beatitude Patriarch Antoine Pierre Arida
Born 1863, North Lebanon. Archbishop of Tripoli 1908. Elected Patriarch 1932. In his combined personal and official capacity the largest landowner in the Lebanon. In his time he was an influential figure particularly as the leader of Christian interests against the Moslems. But he was always greedy, cunning and quarrelsome and now his mental and physical powers are fast failing and he is bedridden. His patriarchal duties are conducted by a commission of three archbishops.

3. Monseigneur Augustin Boustani

Born 1872, Deir el-Kamar. Archbishop of South Lebanon residing at Beit-Iddin. He comes of a leading Maronite family and is intelligent and well educated but shows no friendliness to the British.

4. Monseigneur Pierre Dib

Born about 1885. Archbishop of Cairo but lives mainly at the Patriarch's seat at Bkerké. Learned and reputedly virtuous. A member of the commission which conducts the Patriarch's affairs and a possible successor to him.

5. Monseigneur Boulos Meouschi

Born 1892, Jezzine. Archbishop of Tyr, after living many years in the United States. He lives at Bkerké and is chairman of the commission running the Patriarch's business. He is vigorous and intelligent and a more modern type than his archiepiscopal colleagues. Speaks English.

6. Monseigneur Ignace Mobarak

Born 1876; studied at Rome. Appointed Archbishop of Beirut 1919. A vigorous champion of the civic rights of the Maronite community, but apt to become quarrelsome. He several times offered his resignation and was surprised and shocked when the Pope accepted it suddenly in 1952. He now lives at Bkerké.

7. Monseigneur Ignace Ziade

Born 1906. Archbishop of Aleppo 1945 and Beirut 1952. An educated and pleasant personality who is also a member of the commission managing the Patriarchate. In private conversation very ready to advocate the need for a strong Western policy in the Middle East.

Greek Catholic

8. Monseigneur Philippe Nabaa

Born about 1905; studied at Rome. Now Archbishop of Beirut. A genial and cultivated prelate who shows friendliness to this embassy and looks generally Westward.

9. Monseigneur Maximos Sayegh

Born 1878, Aleppo. Archbishop of Tyre 1917 and of Beirut 1933, and Patriarch since 1947. Popular among his small community. Anti-Communist and believes in the need for Western support of the Christian position in the Lebanon.

Greek Orthodox

10. Monseigneur Elie Karam

Born 1896. Archbishop of Mount Lebanon, living just outside Beirut. Maintains friendly relations with all foreigners but generally regarded as a

Communist sympathiser and known to have close connexions with the Soviet Legation (e.g., he celebrated a mass for the repose of Stalin's soul).

11. Monseigneur Elie Saliby

Born 1876. Archbishop of Beirut since 1935. A smooth-tongued ecclesiastic. Despite his professions of friendship with Britain has close contacts with the Cypriot supporters of Enosis with Greece. But he is a tough element of resistance to the all too pervasive communism in the Greek Orthodox Church.

Syrian Catholic

12. Cardinal Gabriel I^{er} Tappouni

Born 1879, Mosul. Consecrated Bishop 1913; Archbishop of Aleppo 1921; Patriarch 1929; Cardinal 1933. Worked closely with the French who supported him during the Mandate as a counterpoise to the Maronites. A strong champion of Christian rights in Lebanon and Syria. Despite his pro-French reputation makes friendly gestures to this embassy.

Armenian Catholic

13. Cardinal Gregoire Pierre XV Agagianian

Born 1895, Tiflis; studied at Rome. Ordained 1917; consecrated Bishop 1935; Patriarch of Armenian Catholics throughout the world 1937; appointed Cardinal 1945. A cultivated man of small stature but imposing presence. Speaks English and is in touch with English-speaking Catholics throughout the world. Despite his Russian origins, a vigorous opponent of communism, and unites in his person many opponents of East and West (political, ecclesiastical and geographical) and is therefore generally regarded, perhaps somewhat optimistically, as *papabile*.

Armenian Orthodox

14. Monseigneur Khoren Paroyan

Born about 1905, Cyprus. Came to the Lebanon at the age of 15 and is now Archbishop of the

Lebanon. He remains a British subject and still visits his parents every year in Cyprus. He is a friendly individual of no great intellectual stature.

Jew

15. Benzion Lechtman

Born about 1891 in Poland. Came to Beirut 1935 and has acted as Rabbi since 1948. Even the Jewish community regard him as colourless.

Sunni Moslem

16. Sheikh Mohammed Alaya

Born 1883, Beirut; primary education only, but after many years in religious courts is experienced in Shia law. Twice married and twice divorced. Appointed Mufti of the Lebanese Republic 1952 as a result of pressure on President el-Khoury by Abdallah Yafi and the Salam family. Honest but weak and unintelligent.

Shia Moslem

17. Sayed Abdel Husseïn Sharafeddin

Born about 1867; studied at Najaf, the Shia holy place in Iraq. Now chief of the Shia community in the Lebanon. Violently anti-Christian and anti-Western but honest and much respected by his community.

Druze

18. Mokadem Ali Mizher

Born 1896. Cousin of Kemal Jumblatt. Formerly a lawyer with political ambitions. He was appointed Kadi of the Druzes in Lebanon in 1945. He speaks English and professes the traditional Druze friendship for the British but is probably a rather shy intriguer.

LEBANON: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir E. Chapman-Andrews to Lord Salisbury. (Received September 28)

(No. 153. Confidential) *Beirut,*
My Lord Marquess, *September 23, 1953.*

I have the honour to transmit herewith my annual report on Heads of Foreign Missions accredited to the Lebanon.

I have, &c.

E. A. CHAPMAN-ANDREWS.

Enclosure in No. 7

Lebanon: Heads of Foreign Missions

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports)

Argentina

Sr. Fernando Mario Lauria, Minister (February 4, 1953).

I have so far had no opportunity to do more than exchange formal visits with him. For South American representatives here, the diplomatic life is one of the gay social roundabout, for which the Laurias seem well fitted.

Belgium

M. Fernand Seynaeve, Minister (August 13, 1952). A friendly little middle-aged man of wide experience outside the Middle East, mostly consular; his interests mainly economic. A charming wife. Both speak English and, I am sure, like us.

Brazil

Sr. Carlos Martins Thompson-Flores, Minister (August 10, 1948).

Also accredited to Syria.

*An agreeable colleague whose work is mainly consular. His wife is handsome and affable. She speaks French. The Minister also speaks a little English. They live next door and are good neighbours. (Written in 1952.) Three grown-up sons and a very elderly English governess, now a family encumbrance, to whom, however, they are all devoted.

Chile

Señor Miguel Laban Jabaz, Minister (July 14, 1953).

Also accredited to Syria.

Of Syrian origin, being the son of an emigrant who prospered exceedingly. Reputed to be wealthy. Speaks only Arabic and Spanish. Friendly, quiet and gentle in manner. In the middle forties. A striking and handsome wife of native Indian origin also reputedly wealthy. There are children, I think four.

Colombia

Dr. Rodolfo Garcia Garcia, Minister (June 14, 1949).

Quite an agreeable little man with a hypochondriacal wife.

Czechoslovakia

M. Joseph Pták, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (February 3, 1953).

One hardly knows him.

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Egypt

Mohamed Wagih Rustom Bey, Ambassador (Minister January 25, 1949, Ambassador November 24, 1952).

*An agreeable man of rubicund appearance and a genial manner. He is sensible, moderate and friendly. He served for a short period in 1945 as Counsellor in London and was later an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speaks French and Spanish well; also quite good English. His wife speaks French and English. (Written in 1952.)

France

M. Georges Balay, Ambassador (Minister April 7, 1952, Ambassador October 15, 1952).

*A well groomed, almost dapper little man, unmarried. Can speak English and knows from personal acquaintance something of places and people in the United Kingdom. Is friendly, reasonable and glad to co-operate. More detached in his attitude than most Frenchman in this country and knows his diplomatic trade well but does not get on very well with the Lebanese, perhaps because of his slightly superior air towards them and a gift for implying in conversation that a plebiscite would restore the mandate. (Written in 1952.)

German Federal Republic

Dr. Herbert Nöhring, Minister (May 20, 1953).

A rather distinguished-looking man, apparently unmarried, in the early fifties. Sword-scarred cheek and an eye and look whose inborn hardness an instinct for the main chance and the veneer of professional diplomacy do not completely mask. Anxious to be friendly to us and bitterly recriminative against Ribbentrop. Speaks English fluently from several years in America. Also served pre-war in Bagdad.

Greece

M. Georges St. Seferiades, Minister (January 1, 1953).

Also accredited to Bagdad, Damascus and Amman.

A charming elderly man, married. A post-war diplomatist, he came here from London and seems genuinely pro-British. Speaks sufficient English. Said to be the leading poet of modern Greece. Was chief of Greek Information Services abroad during the war and later private secretary to Archbishop Damaskinos when Regent.

Holy See

Mgr. Giuseppe Beltrami, Nuncio (December 2, 1950).

*A dignified ecclesiastic of the old school with polished, if a trifle fussy, manners. Anxious to be friendly and having, from his own account narrowly escaped being lynched during anti-clerical riots in South America, is very sensitive to "confessional" differences among the Lebanese and, like all Catholics including Maronites in this country, fearful of the further growth of the Moslem element in the population. (Written in 1952.)

Iraq

El-Sayed Ahmed Al-Rawi, K.B.E. Ambassador (July 31, 1953).

Brother to Nejjib Al-Rawi, Iraqi Ambassador at Cairo. Deeply attached to the Hashemites but no politician. A public servant all his life. As Director-General of Public Security in Bagdad after the

failure of the Rachid Ali coup he had to round up the rebels. Is an honorary K.B.E. and proud of it. Speaks English volubly but his wife only Arabic.

Italy

Signor Vittorio Castellani Pastoris, Minister (February 18, 1950).

*Rather a colourless but kindly and affable personality with a wife to match. He knows this part of the world well, having in the past been Consul at Damascus and later a member of the Italian Armistice Commission in Syria. He is well informed and is a pleasant and courteous colleague. (Written in 1952.)

Jordan

Dr. Jamal Bey Toukan, Minister (October 12, 1950).

*A Palestinian, previously mutessarrif of Jerusalem and a senior official in the former British Palestine administration. Speaks excellent English and a most affable and friendly colleague. He seeks our co-operation in all matters where we have common interests. His wife is shy, gentle and in ill-health and only attends receptions when she has to. Favours Hashemite unity and inclined to blame Britain for not encompassing it. (Written in 1952.)

Liberia

M. Henry Gemayel, Chargé d'Affaires (February 10, 1951).

Is a Lebanese permanently resident in the Lebanon and thus holds a sort of local honorary appointment which the Diplomatic Corps recognise only on sufferance.

Mexico

Vacant.

Persia

Mr. Aboul-Ghassem Pourevaly, Minister (December 17, 1949).

A rather unprepossessing little man with a large blond German wife. Afraid, except when unobserved, to manifest in public the friendly disposition towards us noted by my predecessor. He speaks good French.

Peru

Sr. Jorge Bailey-Lembcke, Minister (May 8, 1951).

A middle-aged bachelor with no work to do. He speaks excellent English and French and is out to enjoy, in a quiet and dignified way, the social pleasures of Beirut. An old Harrovian with a nostalgia for pre-1914 London.

Poland ("London Committee")

M. Zigmunt Zawadowski, Minister (August 17, 1944).

*Until the enforced dissolution in July 1945 of the Government which he claims to represent, M. Zawadowski enjoyed a good position here. Since then he has maintained a brave front in the face of an increasingly difficult position due mostly to lack of funds, not to mention the embarrassing presence of Soviet and satellite colleagues in the Diplomatic Corps. Is particularly well informed about the political situation here and about the private lives of Communist representatives both here and in neighbouring countries. Always ready to put his knowledge and information at our disposal, and generous in his expressions of gratitude for British help to former members of the Polish Brigade, who for one reason or another, mostly illness, remain in this country. Visits London regularly once a year. Has a wife who lives mostly in Paris, and a daughter who sometimes comes to stay here. (Written in 1952.)

Saudi Arabia

Said Bey el Rachache, Chargé d'Affaires (December 11, 1946).

*A Damascene formerly in Bagdad. Is always friendly and, generally speaking, co-operative. Somewhat overshadowed by the fact that the Saudi Arabian Minister in Damascus (Sheikh Abdul Aziz Ibn Zeid), an ancient and sick man, who speaks no European language, comes over to Beirut to represent Saudi Arabia at the more important official occasions. (Written in 1952.)

Soviet Union

M. Vassili A. Beliaev, Minister (March 15, 1951).

Young in appearance, an engineer originally, but stiff and formal, rarely smiling, with a young and well-dressed wife and three children. Speaks French, wife taking English lessons. Always prepared to engage in conversation if approached, but is usually disinclined to take the first step. Visited London during the war and (he says) stayed at Chequers. Appeared very shaken by the death of Stalin but seemed, on the slight relaxation of official rigidity that followed, to relish the opportunity of more free and easy contacts.

Spain

Senor Don Juan Felipe de Ranero y Rodriguez, Ambassador (Minister, June 26, 1953, Ambassador, September 21, 1953).

A rubicund little man, said to be wealthy, with a Vicar of Brayish career but who, to me in private, expressed passionately Royalist sentiments. Shrewd, yet talkative to the point of indiscretion. Under the disability of having a deservedly popular predecessor. Wife undistinguished.

Switzerland

Dr. Franz Kappeler, Minister (December 28, 1950).

Also accredited to Syria.

Spent some years as Counsellor in Berlin during the war. A quiet but charming person, he and his wife are always friendly. Four children. A typical Swiss family.

Turkey

M. Rifki Zorlu, Minister (November 14, 1952).

A rather gay, well-dressed bachelor in the forties. An un-typical Turk, he hardly ever stops talking in fluent idiomatic French. The insoluble puzzle of local politics seems to buzz in his head like swarming bees. But at least a cheerful and friendly person.

United States

Raymond Hare, Ambassador (not yet presented credentials).

Arrived September 1953. Known to many of us from long years in Cairo, Jedda and at the Middle East desk in the State Department. Speaks some Arabic. While not gushing, has always been friendly towards his British colleagues, ready to exchange information and, if possible, collaborate. A wife to match.

Uruguay

Sr. Jose Aiub Manzor, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (September 17, 1951).

As his name implies, comes of an emigrant family of Syrian origin. He is friendly but our paths seldom cross.

Venezuela

Dr. Ramon Hernandez Ron, Minister (July 3, 1952).

An astute but friendly colleague.

Yugoslavia

M. Mihajlo Javorski, Minister (December 3, 1951). Also accredited to Syria.

A lean young man and friendly with wife to match. Both struggling to learn English. Was a combatant partisan captured by the Germans and sentenced to death but joined in a planned mass prison break concerted with an R.A.F. bombing attack. If he is a Communist it is not noticeable.

Ministers accredited to the Lebanon but Resident elsewhere

Afghanistan

Abdul Samad Khan (August 13, 1952). Bagdad.

Austria

Vacant. Former Minister at Cairo was also accredited to the Lebanon.

Cuba

Señor Luis P. de Almagro y Elizaga (January 24, 1953). Cairo.

India

Sardar K. M. Panikkar (November 7, 1952). Cairo.

Netherlands

M. Willen Cnoop Koopmans (December 3, 1951). Cairo.

Norway

Vacant. Former Minister at Cairo was also accredited to the Lebanon.

Pakistan

Dr. Mahmood Hasan (May 8, 1952). Damascus.

Saudi Arabia

Sheikh Abdul Aziz Ben Zeid (February 16, 1946). Damascus.

Sweden

Count Gustaf Weidel (March 27, 1952). Cairo.

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